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George Hampton
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and

James A. Thomas and Roland J. Hart
Army Research Institute for the Behavioral and Social Sciences

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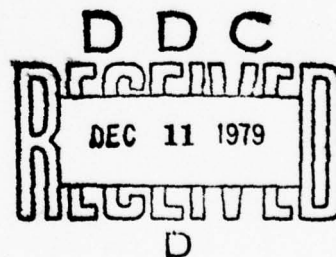
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Race Relations

Research Memorandum 77-29

RACE RELATIONS RESEARCH IN KOREA

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December 1977

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RACE RELATIONS RESEARCH IN KOREA

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RACE RELATIONS IN KOREA

INTRODUCTION

Whatever the relationship between blacks and whites in the United States, the racial problem overseas is compounded by the interaction with still another culture.

For several years, the Army supported research in Korea designed primarily to examine cross-cultural differences and to provide ways of improving relations between American soldiers and Korean host-country nationals. However, this research yielded little information about whether host nationals react differently toward majority and minority soldiers among American troops or whether majority and minority soldiers react differently toward host nationals. With the increased emphasis on Army-wide Equal Opportunity Treatment/Race Relations (EOT/RR) programs, there was an increased awareness that host nationals treated majority and minority soldiers among American troops differently, and vice versa.

Commanders and those who conduct behavioral and social research viewed the problems in Korea as three-cornered, involving interactions between white soldiers and host country nationals, minority troops and host country nationals, and White and minority troops. The overall problem appeared to be highly complex.

Thus, the American soldiers, majority and minority, in Korea, have been in an environment which has a drastically different culture, and in which the host nationals are non-white. The basic research question was: What is the impact of this environment on race relations in Korea?

OBJECTIVE

The specific objective of this research was to determine the attitudes, perceptions, and behavior which American soldiers (majority and minority group) and Korean host nationals manifest with regard to each other.

METHOD

DATA SOURCES

Prior research experience and interviews with Eighth Army personnel revealed that a broad range of data was available for this research. Data from any sources that would yield reliable information were examined. The sources of information for this study are:

1. Interviews of a random sample of 260 American military men in Korea.
2. Interviews of a comparison sample of 155 Korean nationals.
3. "Final Report of Human Relations and Equal Opportunity Activities at U.S. Army Garrison, Yongsan During the Period April 1971 to April 1973," submitted 13 July 1973 by SFC John E. Tucker.
4. Re-analysis of critical incidents gathered in Korea in 1971 by Robert A. Yangas, while conducting research on cross-cultural issues.
5. Structured observations by staff members of the American Institutes for Research.
6. Minutes and information derived from the Promote Equality Action Committee (PEACE). This body, consisting of business owners in the local community adjacent to Yongsan Garrison, the Garrison commander, and his key staff members, was formed to reduce racial discrimination in Itaewon, the off-post area frequented by servicemen. The contractor project director participated in the monthly meetings of the committee.

SAMPLING PROCEDURE

During April and May 1973, a survey was conducted among American soldiers and Korean nationals who work on base. Approximately 300 Americans and 200 Koreans were interviewed regarding their opinions and attitudes toward each other. The American interviews were conducted by American soldiers, trained in interviewing techniques by research scientists at the Far East Field Unit of the U.S. Army Research Institute. (See Appendix A for the American interview guide.) A similar Korean interview was prepared by a Korean research scientist working at the ARI Field Unit in the Cross-Cultural Project (Appendix B). ARI scientists conducted the interviews.

Approximately a 2% sample was taken of units in a metropolitan area (Yongsan Garrison in Seoul) and units in rural, tactical areas (2nd Infantry Division). The 2nd Division was divided into five sub-units of equal size for sampling purposes: 1st Brigade, 2nd Brigade, 3rd Brigade, Division Support Command, and Division Artillery. A similar division was made for the Yongsan Garrison.

The sample was drawn by placing the names of each unit subordinate to the above five sub-units in a hat, e.g., headquarters and each battalion of a brigade. The names of two subordinate units were withdrawn for each sub-unit. Thirty U.S. personnel from each of these units were randomly selected from a roster on the basis of the last digit of their social security numbers, a digit determined by placing the numbers 0-9 in a hat and drawing a number for each unit. After all names were selected, appointments were made for the actual interview to insure that personnel would be available at a specific time and place. No substitutions were authorized once the appointments were made.

The selection process for Korean nationals was essentially the same, except that the Korean personnel were selected from a master roster at the Division Civilian Personnel Office. The random selection was based on the last digit of the Korean ID card.

Frequent visits were made to the installations concerned to observe activities and talk with commanders and staff officers about the survey. Personnel working on the project became familiar with on-post and off-post facilities frequented by soldiers who were surveyed. Liaison with human relations and equal opportunity personnel was maintained throughout the survey.

The requirement to interview 300 American soldiers and 200 Korean nationals, coupled with the fact that there was only one full-time researcher assigned to the project, made it necessary to train selected unit personnel to conduct structured interviews using guides prepared by the research scientist working in the Field Unit. (The outline lesson plan for training interviewers is given in Appendix C.) Units were selected and interviewers trained during the first two weeks of April 1973. Concurrent with the preparations for interviewing American soldiers, plans were made and implemented to interview Korean nationals who worked on the military installations. There was some loss of data because of incomplete interviews. Of the Americans sampled, 260 interviews were complete enough for analysis. Of the Koreans sampled, 155 interviews were used.

RESULTS

THE AMERICAN MILITARY SAMPLE

The American sample of 260 respondents was fairly representative of the active duty military population in Korea, consisting of 78.1% White, 16.2% Black, and 5.8% other minority American soldiers. There were 98.8% males and 1.2% females interviewed. All females were white. Table 1 lists background characteristics of the respondents in the American sample. Slightly more than one-half of the White and Blacks professed no affiliation with any religious group.

Table 1
AMERICAN MILITARY SAMPLE

	Whites %	Blacks %	Other Minorities %
a. <u>Education - Highest Level</u>			
8th Grade	1.5	0.0	6.7
Some High School	13.8	9.5	26.7
High School Graduate	42.9	64.3	60.0
Technical School or some college	26.1	16.7	6.7
College Graduate	10.3	4.8	0.0
Some Graduate Work	5.4	4.8	0.0
b. <u>Time in Service</u>			
Under 3 years	66.5	58.6	66.7
3 to 9.9 years	17.7	14.3	20.0
10 to 19.9 years	11.3	19.0	13.3
20 or more years	4.4	7.1	0.0
c. <u>Time in Country</u>			
Less than six months	57.2	57.2	46.7
Six to 11.9 months	31.1	31.0	33.4
12 to 24 months	7.4	4.8	13.3
Over 24 months	4.4	7.1	6.7
d. <u>Marital Status</u>			
Married	40.4	42.9	46.7
Not married	59.6	57.1	53.3
e. <u>Spouse in Korea</u>			
Yes, not command sponsored	10.3	0.0	6.7
Yes, command sponsored	5.4	4.8	0.0
f. <u>Residence in Korea</u>			
No response	0.0	0.0	6.7
Off-base	14.8	7.1	13.3
On-base	85.2	92.9	80.0

THE KOREAN SAMPLE

The Korean sample of 155 respondents consisted of 54.8% military -- Korean Augmentation to the U.S. Army (KATUSA)¹ -- and 44.9% Korean national civilians who work on the same military bases as the soldiers interviewed. Civilian personnel from laborers through professional Koreans were represented in the sample. However, only enlisted and non-commissioned KATUSAs were interviewed. By classification, Korean officers fall in the category of liaison officers and not KATUSAs, a technicality not taken into consideration when the interviews were planned. The characteristics of the respondents are shown in Table 2.

KATUSA and civilian employees who served in those capacities less than one year represented 37.4% of the sample, one to two years 12.9%, two to five years 11.0%, five to 10 years 10.3%, and over 10 years 28.4%. The KATUSA assignment was three years; the majority of the personnel represented in the two to over 10 years categories (47.8%) were civilian personnel. They provided the continuity in most on-post activities and were continually exposed to different Americans who normally rotated on a yearly basis, in some cases every two years. Conversely, the KATUSA was rotated into and out of the American military bases on a three-year basis. The KATUSAs therefore provided an interacting source of information for relations between the Korean communities and the Americans. In communities remote from military bases, the KATUSAs might be the only Koreans who have personally known an American. The respondents were asked to indicate how many years they had had direct interaction with Americans. The responses are shown in Table 2. Most indicated that they had interacted with Americans either less than two or more than 10 years. Again, those who had interacted with Americans for longer periods of time were mainly civilian employees.

¹ KATUSA personnel are Republic of Korea Army (ROKA) enlisted personnel assigned to and integrated into units of Eighth US Army (EUSA) to increase the operational capability of the unit and to provide additional well-trained personnel and skilled technicians for ROKA (Eighth Army Regulation 600-2).

Table 2
KOREAN SAMPLE

	Total Sample %
<u>a. Education - Highest Level</u>	
No response	.6
Completed Middle School (9th grade)	30.3
Some High School	4.5
Completed High School	26.5
Some College	29.0
College Graduate	8.4
Some Graduate Work	.6
<u>b. Age - Years</u>	
17 - 21	3.2
22 - 30	52.3
31 and above	44.5
<u>c. Interaction with Americans</u>	
Less than one year	31.6
One to two years	20.6
Two to five years	3.9
Five to 10 years	8.4
Ten years or more	35.5
<u>d. Marital Status</u>	
Married	43.9
Not married	55.5
Widowed or divorced	0.6
<u>e. Sex</u>	
Male	97.4
Female	2.6

SURVEY RESULTS

American-Korean Relations. The data from the survey identified several differences in the attitudes and perceptions of American troops and Koreans. For example, 87.7% of the Americans interviewed felt they had frequent social contacts with Koreans both on and off base; however, 72.9% of the Koreans working on post indicated they had rare or no contact with Americans socially. When Koreans were asked what prevented them from having more contact with Americans, language and lack of money were the primary reasons given. Americans mentioned language as a problem in their contacts with Koreans, but unlike Koreans they seldom mentioned money as a problem. The fact that the Koreans on base felt they had little social contact with Americans, largely because they lacked the financial resources to do so, was one potential problem source, at least as far as the Koreans were concerned. It is unclear at this point why Americans felt they had social contact, while Koreans felt they did not. It may be that Americans considered financial or business transactions as a form of social contact, and Koreans did not.

Another difference in the perception of American troops and Koreans was reflected in the Americans' responses to the next question. When Americans were asked, "What do you think Koreans like or admire most about Americans, if anything?" Americans (67.7%) indicated affluence; i.e., "our money, standard of living, the American economy." Conversely, when Koreans were asked what they liked or admired about Americans, 68.4% indicated personality characteristics; i.e., happy, humorous, friendly, etc. Only 0.6% gave indications of admiration for affluence. Blacks (76.2%) tended to indicate the aspect of affluence more than did Whites (67.5%) or Other Minorities (46.7%). These data indicate that Americans, and especially Blacks, tended to feel that Koreans were more concerned about what Americans have (economically) than who or what they are.

The feeling that the Korean was more apt to associate on the basis of economics than on the basis of pure and simple friendship seemed to prevail among American soldiers. American soldiers expressed this "economic basis" perception in a different way when asked, "What do you dislike about the Korean people?" There were many categories of responses, but 25.8% indicated they dislike the way Koreans "hustled" them for money, took advantage of them on prices, and were involved with thievery and begging. When this statistic was broken down by race or ethnic group, Whites (30%) and Other Minorities (20%) expressed more concern than did Blacks (7.1%) about hustling and taking advantage of Americans.

American soldiers seemed to feel that Koreans were only after their money. Koreans denied that they liked Americans primarily because of their money. The reasons for these differing perceptions are unclear. Americans may have made these judgments about Koreans on the basis of their interactions with business people in the town camps and not on the basis of their interactions with Koreans (like those in the sample) who

worked on the base. The cultural training that the troops now receive should help troops to interact with Koreans on a personal basis. Soldiers now often limit their experience with Koreans to business transactions in the town camps.

Another potential problem between Americans and Koreans may arise from the attitude that many Americans think that they are superior to Koreans. When Americans were asked, "What do you think Koreans dislike most about Americans, if anything?," 80.0% responded with negative comments about Americans. Of the 80.0%, over half felt that individual faults--a superiority complex or a lack of respect for Koreans--formed the major area of dislike. When Koreans were asked the same question, 62.6% agreed, making the same or similar negative comments about Americans. The same problem area was identified when Koreans were asked to indicate what could be done to promote better Korean-American relations. The responses to this question are shown in Table 3a. Here we find that showing respect and understanding the culture highlighted Korean perceptions of ways Americans could improve or promote better relations. "Respect us as equals" in some form or another was usually reflected in surveys conducted among Blacks and other American minorities.

Koreans may have been thinking largely about White soldiers when they answered questions about Americans. When Koreans were asked to indicate what they disliked about White soldiers, 62.6% of the Korean sample indicated that they disliked the White soldiers' sense of superiority. The Korean responses are listed in Table 3b. By way of contrast, the Koreans were not as concerned about the Black soldiers' sense of superiority. Only 13.5% of the Koreans indicated that they disliked these attitudes in Black soldiers.

When Koreans were asked to express their feelings toward Korean women who date American soldiers, 55.5% of the Koreans expressed dislike for these women compared to only 12.3% who expressed approval, and 31.6% who were indifferent. When Americans were asked if Koreans looked down on Korean women who dated Americans, 52.3% of the Americans sampled agreed that Koreans did look down on these women; only 26.7% said Koreans did not. These perceptions by Americans tend to confirm that the Koreans disliked Korean women who dated American soldiers. The stigma that was attached to women who dated American soldiers created a problem for these women in their relations with other Koreans.

In summary, then, it appears that there were several problem sources in the relations between Koreans and American soldiers: (1) Koreans seemed concerned that they had little real social contact with Americans. (2) Americans, however, felt they had social contact but disliked the way they were hustled for money by some Koreans. (3) The strongest complaint that Koreans seemed to have about Americans was that Americans often have a superiority complex and treat Koreans with disrespect.

Table 3

KOREAN REACTIONS TO AMERICAN SOLDIERS

- a. What do you think Americans should do to promote better American-Korean relations?

<u>Percentage</u>	<u>Response</u>
63.2	Respect, accept as equals
23.2	Learn, understand the culture, language
4.5	Do nothing, accept situation as it is, other's responsibility
2.6	Economics: stop thinking money can buy everything
2.6	Improve interaction (unspecified)
2.6	No response
.6	Refrain from harassment, name calling
.6	Avoid prostitutes

- b. What do you dislike most about the Whites?

<u>Percentage</u>	<u>Response</u>
62.6	Attitudes: superiority, sensitivity, historical, complaining, expecting handouts, pride, hypocrisy, selfish
19.4	No response
5.8	Communication: threats, insults, harassing, politeness, two faced, quick tempered
4.5	Signs and symbols, dress, hair, rowdy and loud conduct, arrogant (violent and wild), showing off, rank, economic strength, unsanitary habits, lazy
3.9	Individual, general, unspecified
1.9	Mixing: excessive grouping, ganging up, taking over, pushing, crowding, demonstrations, rioting, staying apart, segregation
.6	Interaction, general, unspecified
.6	Dark color, odor
.6	Drugs, prostitution, sexual matters

Korean--American-Minority Relations. One of the underlying objectives of this study was to discover whether racial/ethnic differences among American soldiers were important to Koreans, and if they were important, whether Koreans discriminated against Black soldiers.

On a number of questions, Koreans indicated a definite preference for White Americans over Black Americans, or any other American racial/ethnic group. Koreans were in agreement that they would prefer to meet White Americans in social situations (see Table 4). The uniformity of the responses in Table 4 suggests a strong social preference for White Americans. A strong social preference that is divided along racial lines, as this one is, suggests that Koreans had some aversion to mixing with Black Americans in social situations.

When asked whether Whites or Blacks helped American-Korean relations the most, Koreans indicated that Whites helped relations the most (see Table 5a). Although Koreans felt that Whites were responsible for facilitating good relations, Americans disagreed, and felt that no one group could be singled out for praise or blame for helping or hurting American-Korean relations (Table 5b). It seems that the Korean responses to this question merely reflected again the Korean preference for White Americans.

In order to understand better the reasons for the Koreans' preferences for Whites, Koreans were asked to indicate what they liked or admired about Whites and Blacks. These Korean reactions to Whites and Blacks are listed in Table 6. Koreans most frequently listed personality characteristics as something they liked most about both Blacks and Whites. However, here again Koreans indicated a general preference for Whites. A higher percentage of Koreans liked or admired the personality characteristics of Whites than those of Blacks. On the other hand, a higher percentage of Koreans liked or admired the group feelings and unity of Blacks than Whites. A higher percentage of Koreans also felt there was nothing admirable about Blacks and thus had nothing to say, or made derogatory replies.

The next question (Table 7) was designed to discover the reason for Korean discrimination against Blacks. When Koreans were asked if they had different feelings toward Black and White Americans, 78.1% of the Koreans said they had unfavorable feelings toward Blacks for one reason or another. Many of those in the American sample agreed that Koreans did have negative feelings toward Blacks. It is interesting to compare the reasons that Koreans gave for their own discrimination with the reasons that Americans gave for Korean discrimination. Table 7 shows that Koreans generally justified their unfavorable feelings toward Blacks by belaboring personal characteristics of Blacks in emotion-laden pejorative terms (35.5%); this and anticipated negative interaction with Blacks (38.1%) were Koreans' prime reasons for discriminating against Black Americans. Approximately one-third of the Americans, on the other hand, felt Korean discrimination was due primarily to the influence of "White racism and prejudice against Blacks."

Table 4
KOREAN SOCIAL PREFERENCES

- a. In general, which of the following Americans do you prefer to meet socially?

<u>Percentage</u>	<u>Korean Responses</u>
1.3	No response
78.1	White Americans
3.9	Black Americans
8.4	Oriental American
1.3	Mexican Americans
.6	Puerto Rican
.6	Indian American
1.3	White and Black American
4.5	Same

- b. In your opinion, which of the following Americans do other Koreans prefer for social contact?

<u>Percentage</u>	<u>Korean Responses</u>
.6	No response
88.4	White American
1.3	Black American
6.5	Oriental American
.0	Mexican American
.0	Indian American
.0	Puerto Rican
1.3	White and Black American
1.9	Same

Table 5

WHO HELPS GOOD RELATIONS? - KOREAN vs. AMERICAN VIEW

a. Korean View:

Which of the following Americans helps the American-Korean relations most?

<u>Percentage</u>	<u>Korean Responses</u>
78.7	White
10.3	Black
5.8	No differentiation, all the same
1.9	Other
3.2	No response

b. American View:

Is there any group of Americans which you think particularly helps or hurts Korean-American relations? How?

<u>American Responses</u>	<u>Total Sample</u>	<u>White</u>	<u>Black</u>	<u>Other Minorities</u>
No response	8.8	9.9	7.1	.0
No	58.8	57.1	61.9	73.3
Yes, unspecified	1.9	2.0	2.4	.0
Philanthropic, EOT, medics, embassy, social club - help	5.0	5.4	2.4	6.7
Groups identified by personality characteristics - hurt	11.2	10.8	14.3	6.7
Whites - hurt	.8	.0	4.8	.0
Blacks - hurt	7.7	9.4	2.4	.0
Racial militants - hurt	2.3	2.5	.0	6.7
Younger generation - hurt	3.5	3.0	4.8	6.7

Table 6
KOREAN RACIAL PREFERENCES

What do you like or admire most about the Whites? Blacks?		
Black %	White %	Korean Responses
7.7	1.3	No response
1.9	.6	Special abilities: athletic, physical, musical
43.2	74.2	Personality characteristics: happy, humorous, courteous, outspoken, brave, cope with adversity, friendly, slow to anger, unprejudiced
-	1.3	Appearance: dress, grooming
23.9	2.6	Group feeling: unity, togetherness, cohesiveness, support of others, racial pride, self-belief
3.9	5.2	Determination: better themselves, more education, economically
-	1.3	Status: financial, economic, social
-	.6	Affluence, their money, standard of living, economy
.6	3.9	Liberal minded, individualist
.6	3.2	Distinguish between public and private matters
18.1	5.8	Nothing: nothing admirable, or derogatory reply

Table 7

KOREAN DISCRIMINATION--KOREAN vs. AMERICAN VIEW

a. Korean View:

Do you feel differently toward Black and White Americans?

<u>Korean Responses</u>	<u>Percentage</u>
No	12.9
Yes, unspecified	2.6
Unfavorable feelings toward Blacks because negative interaction is expected with Blacks	38.1
Unfavorable feelings toward Blacks because of personal stereotypic characteristics: loud and rowdy conduct, showing off, stupid, filthier	35.5
Unfavorable feelings toward Blacks because influenced by white racism, prejudice against Blacks	2.6
Unfavorable feelings toward Blacks because Koreans are very color conscious	1.9
Unfavorable feelings toward Whites because of Whites superiority complex	6.5

b. American View:Do you think Koreans feel or act differently toward Black and White Americans?

<u>American Responses</u>	<u>Total Sample</u>	<u>Whites</u>	<u>Blacks</u>	<u>Other Minorities</u>
No response	10.0%	12.3%	2.4%	0.0%
No	33.1	33.0	26.2	53.3
Yes, unspecified	14.6	12.3	26.2	13.3
Unfavorable feelings toward Blacks because negative interaction is expected with Blacks: violence and threats of violence, stealing, fear of Blacks	6.5	7.4	0.0	13.3
Unfavorable feelings toward Blacks because of personal stereotypic characteristics: loud & rowdy conduct, showing off, dap, dress, etc.	1.9	2.5	0.0	0.0
Unfavorable feelings toward Blacks because influenced by White racism and prejudice against Blacks	31.2	32.0	33.3	13.3
Economics: Whites pay more, more Whites than Blacks buy	2.7	0.5	11.9	6.7

Another interesting comparison can be found by referring again to Table 7a. The question in Table 7a was phrased so that the Korean respondents were free to express discriminatory feeling toward either White or Black Americans. Only 6.5% of the Koreans expressed unfavorable feelings toward Whites compared to the 78.1% who expressed unfavorable feelings toward Blacks. The unfavorable feelings toward Whites were centered around the White (American) sense of superiority that was mentioned earlier (Table 3b). This comparison raises the possibility that Korean feelings against Blacks were stronger than their feelings against Whites.

In summary then, the results in Tables 4-7 suggest that Koreans discriminated in a number of ways against the Blacks. The Koreans in this sample strongly preferred interaction with Whites and seemed to want to avoid interaction with Blacks as much as possible. They tended to justify this discrimination against Blacks by saying that Blacks possessed negative personal characteristics, and that Blacks were negative or hostile when they interacted with Koreans. It seems safe to conclude from this and other evidence that Black American soldiers faced a double burden of both White and Korean discrimination.

Koreans, on the other hand, did not seem to agree that their own discrimination added significantly to the burden of discrimination that Blacks face in Korea. First of all, Koreans thought that Americans felt good about their assignment in Korea. When Koreans were asked, "In your opinion, how do American soldiers feel about their assignment here in Korea compared to other overseas assignments?" 69.0% said good, 15.5% said no difference, 12.9% said bad, and 2.6% did not respond. Koreans were asked next to compare the treatment that American minorities get in Korea with what they get in the United States. The Korean responses to this question are listed in Table 8. Koreans were nearly unanimous in agreeing that American minorities received better treatment in Korea than in the U.S. This is somewhat surprising in view of the fact that most of these same Koreans readily admitted that they were unfavorably disposed toward Blacks. These results suggest that Koreans had very distorted images, not only about Blacks, but also about what life was like for minorities in the United States. Furthermore, Koreans could readily minimize the importance of their own discrimination, and deny the negative impact that it has on Blacks, by saying that the treatment of Blacks was much worse in the United States than in Korea. (Americans, too, can rationalize their own discrimination by saying things are worse someplace else.)

Koreans did, however, recognize that there were racial problems in Korea between White and Black soldiers. When Koreans were asked, "From your point of view, why do racial problems exist between Black and White Americans here?" 72.9% said the problems were a carryover from the United States. Although this was probably true, at least to some extent, Koreans did not acknowledge their own contribution to the discrimination that Black soldiers faced in Korea.

Table 8

KOREAN VIEW OF THE TREATMENT GIVEN AMERICAN MINORITIES

- a. How do you compare the treatment that minority groups of Americans get here with what they get in the United States?

<u>Percentage</u>	<u>Korean Responses</u>
95.5	Better treatment in Korea
2.6	Same treatment
1.3	Worse treatment in Korea
.6	No response

- b. In your opinion, how do other Koreans compare the treatment that minority groups of Americans get here with what they get in the United States?

<u>Percentage</u>	<u>Korean Responses</u>
92.9	Better treatment in Korea
1.9	Same treatment
2.6	Worse treatment in Korea
2.6	Don't know

Black Reactions to Discrimination in Korea. A question that naturally arose at this point is how Black soldiers reacted to the double burden of discrimination that they faced. Discrimination can sometimes have unexpected consequences. Table 9a shows American responses to the question, "What would be the most important improvement to make your life better in Korea? " Table 9b shows American responses to the question, "What would be the most important improvement to make your life better in the Army? " These data suggest that some Blacks felt like leaving the situation--leaving Korea and the Army entirely, to get away from the discrimination that they had experienced in Korea. Whites, on the other hand, did not face discrimination. Under these circumstances Whites were more likely than Blacks to feel that things like accompanied tours, more overseas pay, and better billets would improve their life in Korea.

It is possible other factors besides racial discrimination were responsible for the disproportionate number of Blacks who wanted to leave Korea for the Army. For example, if Black soldiers were more homesick than White soldiers, then the desire of some Blacks to leave Korea and the Army could be due to homesickness rather than discrimination. It was possible to eliminate several plausible alternative explanations like this one by looking at the responses to two other questions. When American soldiers were asked, "What are the most harmful things to American morale or happiness here in Korea?," 38.5% of the sample gave responses that fell within the category that was labeled "homesickness," and 29.6% of the sample gave responses that fell within the category that was labeled, "inadequate Army living conditions." When Americans were asked, "Aside from your feelings about the Korean people, what do you dislike the most about this country?," 29.6% of the sample gave responses that fell within the category labeled "poor sanitation, over-population, pollution, poor roads." The response categories given above were the ones that were used most frequently by respondents. If homesickness or inadequate Army living conditions or poor sanitation is to provide an adequate explanation for the fact that a disproportionate percentage of Blacks wanted to get out of Korea, then there should be more Blacks than Whites who are bothered by homesickness, inadequate Army living conditions, and poor sanitation. In actual fact, however, a somewhat smaller percentage of Blacks than Whites indicated that they were bothered by these conditions. So in this case homesickness, inadequate living conditions, or poor sanitation do not provide adequate alternative explanations. Discrimination, in fact, appeared to be the most plausible reason for Black soldiers wanting to get out of Korea and out of the Army.

Table 9
BLACK REACTIONS TO DISCRIMINATION IN KOREA

a. What would be the most important improvement to make your life better in Korea?

<u>American Responses</u>	<u>Total Sample</u>	<u>Whites</u>	<u>Blacks</u>	<u>Other Minorities</u>
No response	18.1%	16.3%	19.0%	40.0%
Leave Korea	13.1	10.8	26.2	6.7
Less restriction in the Army here)pass policy, ration control, more free time)	18.8	18.2	23.8	13.3
Accompanied tour, more overseas pay	10.4	12.3	4.8	0.0
Better billets, recreational facilities, lower housing rent	18.1	19.7	9.5	20.0
Nothing	8.8	8.9	4.8	20.0
General Korean complaint	8.8	8.9	11.9	0.0
Better orientation to Korea	3.8	4.9	0.0	0.0

b. What would be the most important improvement to make your life better in the Army?

<u>American Responses</u>	<u>Total Sample</u>	<u>Whites</u>	<u>Blacks</u>	<u>Other Minorities</u>
No response	22.3%	22.2%	21.4%	26.7%
Get out of the Army	10.4	8.4	19.0	13.3
Less harassment and restrictions(pass control, rationing, etc.)	20.8	22.2	14.3	20.0
Improve living and recreation facilities	12.3	12.3	11.9	6.7
Assignment of choice, MOS of choice	9.6	10.8	2.4	13.3
Faster promotions, more pay	6.2	6.4	4.8	6.7
Nothing	6.5	5.9	7.1	13.3
General Army complaints	11.9	11.3	19.0	0.0

One way to reduce prejudice and discrimination in Korea may be to encourage soldiers to visit Korean homes. A large percentage of the soldiers, 67.5% of the Whites, 73.8% of the Blacks, and 86.7% of the Other Minorities, said they had visited Korean homes. The data do not reflect whether the homes visited were ones in the local ville adjacent to the military base or ones farther from the sphere of military influence. Those Blacks who sometime during their tour received an invitation to visit a Korean home tended to perceive the situation for Blacks in Korea as better than in the U.S. A significant correlation between the two variables was found, $r = .30$, $p < .05$, for the 42 Blacks in the sample; however, it is not possible to interpret the cause and effect nature of this relationship. There are, however, several explanations that sound quite plausible. An invitation to a home may well create warm feelings and lead to the judgment that conditions in Korea are favorable compared to those in the U.S. Or perhaps Blacks who received invitations to homes are ones who got out into the culture and became acquainted with Koreans who had been exposed less to White cultural biases than Koreans near the bases. In any case, one way to reduce the perceptions of prejudice and discrimination may be to encourage soldiers to become acquainted with Koreans on a social level rather than just on a business level.

Facilities. In an overseas location, one factor that seems related to racial tension is inadequate recreational and leisure time facilities. Racial conflicts seem to be more likely when troops don't have anything to do in their spare time. The American sample rated the adequacy of the recreation/leisure time activities in Korea both on and off post. The soldiers' responses are shown in Table 10. Although there seemed to be more dissatisfaction with the recreation/leisure time facilities among all the troops, this dissatisfaction was greatest among the Black troops. A smaller percentage of Blacks than Whites thought they had "good" on- and off-post facilities for recreation. This sort of disparity between Blacks and Whites in how adequate they think the facilities are can create racial tension. With the appropriate circumstances, upgrading recreation/leisure time facilities for all troops, Black and White, can have the effect of reducing racial tension.

A large percentage of Blacks did not respond to the question in Table 9b about the adequacy of off-base facilities. There is some evidence that those who responded in this way had not been exposed to off-base recreational facilities other than the "Americanized" activities in the villes adjacent to their military installation.

Table 10

WHITE AND BLACK REACTIONS TO RECREATIONAL FACILITIES

- a. What do you think of the recreation/leisure time facilities in Korea on-post?

<u>American Responses</u>	<u>Total Sample</u>	<u>Whites</u>	<u>Blacks</u>	<u>Other Minorities</u>
No response	5.8%	5.4%	7.1%	6.7%
Good	22.3	22.2	16.7	40.0
Adequate	35.4	36.5	31.0	33.3
Poor	36.5	36.0	45.2	20.0

- b. What do you think of the recreation/leisure time facilities off-post?

<u>American Responses</u>	<u>Total Sample</u>	<u>Whites</u>	<u>Blacks</u>	<u>Other Minorities</u>
No response	26.2%	21.7%	45.2%	33.3%
Good	18.1	20.7	7.1	13.3
Adequate	28.5	30.0	21.4	26.7

DISCUSSION OF PROBLEM AREAS

Analysis of the survey data gave a composite but somewhat narrow picture of the race relations situation in Korea. In order to amplify the research findings and to show how the various behaviors and attitudes identified in the study may cause tension between the different groups studied, other data sources were used. Observations, conversations and other research studies were among those used to examine other facets of a Korean assignment which influenced race relations in that country. This section will be devoted to a discussion of the major problem areas identified by the research.

THE GENERAL PROBLEM

The problem of interactions between Blacks, Whites, and Koreans is complex. Although Koreans acknowledged discrimination by both Black and White Americans, their reaction to this discrimination was seldom overt. In contrast, Blacks who perceived discrimination by Whites and Koreans generally reacted in an overt manner, sometimes expressing their discontent through violence. It is not always clear whether Black discontent was more the result of perceived discrimination by Whites or by Koreans. In any case, the Black perceived a double burden of discrimination--from both Koreans and Whites--and expressed in one form or another his discontent at being the minority at all times.

The research tends to support the observation that though Americans quite often treated other Americans as equals, they seldom treated Koreans as equals. This inequality was reinforced and institutionalized by the assignment of Koreans to tasks which were not consistent with their education and self-perceived status. The American soldier was generally unable, or unwilling, to differentiate between "respectable" Koreans, e.g. KATUSAs and on-base workers, and some less reputable Koreans in the community adjacent to the base. Their assumption that "Koreans are all alike" appeared to be a primary source of misunderstanding with KATUSAs and on-base workers who were sensitive to both their reputation and status when dealing with Americans. This lack of status differentiation was extended to civilian male domestics ("houseboys") and KPs (dining room orderlies) as well.

In a work situation, Americans tended not to recognize the rank of KATUSAs nor the position of on-base workers, (e.g. KATUSA sergeants were frequently supervised by lower ranking Americans). American troops were seldom, if ever, supervised by KATUSAs or on-base Korean workers; traditionally, American military advisors were often two or more grades below the rank of the Korean commanders they advised. This non-recognition of Korean rank or status represented both an ego assault to the Korean and a threat to his status within his own hierarchy. One can assume, therefore, that a Korean NCO, for example, had a great deal to lose but little to gain when attempting to function within an American controlled setting.

It is a generally accepted premise that Koreans correlate behavior (i.e., good manners,) with education and education with social status. Knowing this, one might conjecture about how Koreans and Americans perceived themselves in relation to each other, based on data presented on the likes and dislikes of the groups sampled. The research indicates that Americans, both Black and White, always saw themselves in a superior position to Koreans, and Americans associated this superior position with superior status. The research suggests, however, that the Koreans did not necessarily see the two groups in the same way. Most importantly, it was evident that Americans were not generally perceived as a homogeneous group by Koreans, i.e., Koreans tended to separate Americans according to

race and overwhelmingly preferred Whites to Blacks in social contacts. The lack of consensus in establishing a "pecking order" may, in itself, be a primary cause of tension in cross-cultural interaction.

There is some evidence in the research which indicated that Koreans were color conscious. If this is the case, a homogeneous society, such as Korea, that emphasizes conformity may be particularly sensitive to any differences in the appearance and behavior of foreigners. Such differences might tend to instigate a reaction which may not be anticipated by Americans. It would appear that the quality of the reaction is related both to the degree of difference noted and the sophistication of the observer. Therefore, it should not seem unusual to find that dark-skinned Americans were more often the objects of curiosity and fear than light-skinned Americans.

In some cases, Koreans would engage Americans in conversation only because they were curious about their different appearance. Sometimes the curiosity could take the form of rubbing the skin of a Black to see if it is real or pulling the hair on the forearms of a hairy foreigner, regardless of skin color. In this sense it was just naive curiosity which could be encouraged or dispelled, depending upon the individual's reaction to it.

However, the typical foreigner, and possibly more often the Black, would be the object of a considerable amount of staring, disparaging comments, and outright name calling, depending on how far away from an American-dominated military environment he happened to be. If the individual was also dressed in an unusual manner and talked or acted differently from the majority, he was even more prone to condescending leers or stares of disbelief. The Black who was experiencing a sense of self-pride and awareness would in many cases take personal affront at this "prejudiced" behavior of Koreans and react in an aggressive manner. His reaction might cause a disturbance which the "offending" Korean might not understand.

One-third of the Whites interviewed stated that Koreans were prejudiced toward Blacks. It is possible that this is a classic form of reducing cognitive dissonance (i.e., the White finds reinforcement by noting events which are in accord with his own prejudices). Likewise, 70% of the Koreans acknowledged prejudiced treatment of Blacks by themselves and Whites. Koreans attributed White discriminatory treatment of Blacks to racism and attributed their own discriminatory treatment to "abnormal" behavior of, or anticipated negative interaction with, Blacks. Even though some Koreans indicated a positive attitude toward the unity among Blacks and expressed empathy with the racial pride and self-belief manifested by Blacks, in every item where Blacks and Whites were compared by Koreans, Whites as a group were preferred over Blacks. This preference for Whites over Blacks was one common thread that surfaced throughout the research.

The negative image that the Korean national has of Black Americans may not be wholly attributable to his interactions with Blacks in Korea, nor to the expressed transfer of American racism to Koreans. The media available to Koreans may also have had a tremendous impact on shaping their attitudes toward Americans and especially toward the Black and Spanish-speaking Americans. As an example, Korean television featured American movies (dubbed in Korean) in a fashion similar to American television. They generally presented older movies such as the Shirley Temple films with "Stepin' Fetchit" types carrying the image of the Black American. Movies depicting the Black American in his present role were seldom, if ever, seen on Korean television or featured in Korean theaters. Western movies, which were also a fad in Korea, presented the Mexican American, the Oriental American, and the American Indian in subservient roles or as renegades and "bad men."

Many Koreans knew minority Americans only through their exposure on public media. As an example, the Korean newspaper, Chosun Ilbo, did a feature article in its November 10, 1973 edition on the "Black and White Problem." Following is an excerpt from this article:

Last week, a 35 year-old man called M. Jackson was elected as the mayor of the city of Atlanta, Georgia, USA. Although formerly blacks were elected as mayors in cities of the East and West such as Washington, D.C. and Los Angeles, this was the first time for a major southern city. Atlanta, a typical city of the South is familiar to us all the more by the "Gone with the Wind."

(An American translation of the complete article is in Appendix D.) The article contained what might be considered a serious misconception--that Atlanta is a typical city of the south as depicted in the movie, "Gone With the Wind." Persons not familiar with modern Atlanta might believe it is now as it was during the Civil War when Blacks were slaves and played only subservient roles.

Much of the Koreans' knowledge of the current status of Blacks in America may have been derived from publicity of the recent Civil Rights movement. Newspaper and television coverage of the demonstrations and riots showed the American minorities reacting to or initiating violence. Perhaps this violent image accounted for Koreans' anticipated negative interaction with Blacks. It appears that the image of American Blacks may be built more on indirect information, i.e., public media, than on actual interaction between Blacks and Koreans.

To widely sample the Korean populace not working on or near the American military installations was beyond the scope of this study. However, the number of personnel, both American and local national, who were exposed to the positive aspects of cross-cultural interaction through human relations programs was very small in comparison to the vast majority in a host country who were exposed daily, through public media, to the negative or derogatory aspects of Americans.

Lack of sensitivity to the impact of the various media on attitudes presented serious problems in promoting human relations programs. As an example, the movie "Green Pastures" was shown nationwide several times over the Armed Forces Television Network in Korea during a 24-hour period on March 29 and 30, 1973. Many Koreans who spoke English, and those who wished to learn or improve their English, watched the American Forces channel. Complaints were registered against the Armed Forces Korea Network (AFKN) that showing the film was in bad taste and reflected adversely on the image of Blacks, and citing the adverse effects of the film on the Eighth Army human relations program.

A determination should be made as to the actual influence the public media has on the formulation of attitudes. If the media does play the important role suggested in this study, then an attempt should be made to marshal that force in a positive direction to support commanders in their overall efforts to improve relations.

The inability of the typical American soldier to communicate in Korean isolated him from the Korean culture (i.e., he could not function outside the military base or the community adjacent to it). In a psychological or social sense, the typical American soldier was not actually in Korea. Unless he had a rather good command of the Korean language, there was little likelihood of his developing friendships with anyone who could not speak English. If the American soldier had any meaningful relationship with Koreans at all, it was seldom with the civilians or KATUSAs with whom he worked or lived, but rather with the women in the surrounding community.

In areas of Korea where large troop concentrations were near small villages or towns, the soldiers' possible recreation was seriously limited. Not only must he endure living in possibly crowded and sometimes substandard conditions, but he must also socialize and spend his time off base in a small and congested area. He moved in such a tight circle of on-base and off-base activities that he had little chance of diverting his energies or gaining new experiences. He encountered the same people on the job, in the barracks, and in recreational facilities both on and off base. This left a lot to be desired for a soldier who might have had the mobility to move far from his working and living areas on an installation in the United States. This situation might have built racial tensions among soldiers and created cross-cultural problems between soldiers and local nationals. The limited facilities on post, and the small congested areas "reserved" for soldiers by the Korean Tourist Bureau off post, could not provide enough adequate and varied activities to satisfy the diversified cultural preferences of our multi-racial, multi-ethnic military force. The soldier was "boxed in" by limited facilities and by his limited experience in Korea outside the "Americanized" zone.

The traditional American pattern of pairing off with someone of the opposite sex in one's leisure time ran counter to the Korean pattern of separation of the sexes. This is not to suggest that Koreans led a monastic existence; however, the Korean man and especially the KATUSA, tended to separate his sex life from his friendships with peers. Conversely, the American soldier was considered culturally indiscreet in that he tended to include Korean females in social situations whenever possible and without regard to the social or professional status of the female with whom he associated. The soldier further isolated himself by the relatively common practice of establishing an off-base residence in the surrounding community and living with a Korean female (popularly referred to as "yoboing") for an extended period of time.

The community adjacent to the base can be viewed as an integral part of the "G.I. Culture" or the overall military community. It catered to the hedonistic wants of Americans; it attempted to emulate a lifestyle less Korean than American. On-base Koreans complained that a distorted image of Korea was derived from this area, and some Americans complained that Koreans got a distorted image of America. Therefore, when an American equated Koreans in this community with Koreans with whom he worked, lived, or met outside of the area, he could not help but cause disharmony. The same was true for Koreans' perceptions of Americans.

In the American's attempt to transplant his society into a segment of the Korean culture, he willfully or inadvertently transplanted many aspects of American social problems as well. American Black and White soldiers involved the Korean national in what was essentially an American problem.

Competition for females on base and off base and sub-culture preferences for leisure time activities tended to further separate Americans along racial and ethnic lines. Koreans acknowledged this separation as the American way of life. Koreans felt that it was an American problem that should be dealt with and resolved by Americans. However, Koreans who expected to get along with Americans tended to identify with those Americans who formed the majority. In most cases they were the White Americans. For economic and possibly social reasons, the tendency for most Koreans who worked or did business with Americans was to cater to the desires and in some cases the prejudices of the American White majority. This had an adverse effect on the working situation on base as well as an adverse impact on relations between Black soldiers and other groups off base.

THE REPLACEMENT SOLDIER

When an American soldier came to Korea, he experienced a phenomenon known as "culture shock"--negative reaction to a different environment or culture. In the initial days of his presence in Korea, he would find that the in-processing and other administrative activities kept him so busy he didn't have an opportunity to evaluate his condition with respect

to his new environment. During inprocessing he was exposed to some formal orientation about the country. Likewise, he was exposed to inprocessing personnel and other soldiers who had been in Korea for a while who also gave him their ideas of what he could expect. The information that he received varied from very positive to very negative opinions about his new surroundings, the military, and the local people.

Most of the enlisted men who came to Korea went through this sort of transition; however, commissioned officers, senior enlisted men, and dependents sometimes entered the country with little or no formal orientation.

Once a soldier was assigned to a unit, or possibly sooner, he was allowed to go on pass or liberty and was exposed to the Korean environment outside the confines of the military compound. He was then exposed to the third party or Korean national. At this point, the Black soldier would find that he was in an environment similar to the one he may have left in the United States. He was confronted with discrimination in the clubs primarily from waitresses and special entertainers who gave him sullen and sometimes outright discourteous service. He may have had to visit several bars before he found music that he liked or an atmosphere where he felt comfortable. If the particular ville was large enough, he may have found a section of town where he felt more comfortable and able to enjoy himself. As a result of his initial experience in Korea, the Black soldier found it hard to believe that he was now on Freedom's Frontier, as he had been told in orientations, here for the purpose of defending the rights of Koreans to have their own democratic government.

He found that the local people displayed behavior which tended to separate the American soldier and classify him by color or race. He also noted that the local populace tended to favor White Americans. Unless he resorted to the certain sections of town or to clubs referred to earlier, he found that he was treated as a second-class citizen or no citizen at all. His lot was not too much better on the military compound. In enlisted clubs he had to vie for music each night if he were to hear any "Soul" music. Although segregated clubs on post were not condoned, some clubs had almost a total Black clientele. As with the most segregated facilities, a club with a large Black clientele was often not as well maintained and attractive than other clubs on a given post.

The Black soldier on many occasions found himself in a situation where, even if he wanted to, he could not enjoy going out with a White buddy. Either he, his White buddy, or possibly both would risk some form of ostracism in the areas surrounding or adjacent to his post. Similarly, the White soldier found that his new environment resembled that which he left in the United States. However, he was not affected in the same way as the Black. He found familiar music and food available to him in the camp villes adjacent to the base. He was catered to by Korean businessmen and he felt well received in the community.

Although both Black and White soldiers were subject to culture shock, the White soldier seemed to have less of a problem of assimilation than the Black soldier. As was reflected in the analysis earlier in this report, American soldiers as a whole indicated some general discontent with regard to their service in the Army and in Korea. The minorities, especially the Blacks, expressed more of a desire to "get out of the Army" than did Whites and Other Minorities. A much higher percentage of Blacks indicated a desire to leave Korea than did Whites or Other Minority personnel. There seemed to be a general discontent among Blacks about service in the Army and specifically in Korea. Even though Whites and minorities other than Black tended to feel that recreational facilities on post were "adequate to good," Blacks did not share this feeling to the same extent. The same was generally true for off-post facilities, even though almost half the Blacks did not respond to the question.

THE BLACK OFFICER

The young Black officer felt he was subjected to the same types of discriminatory practices as the enlisted soldier. In addition, he felt that too few older Black officers who preceded him in service spoke out against discriminatory practices, and therefore the burden of "setting the record straight" was his responsibility. Due to his youth and awareness of current problems and attitudes, he sought to identify with the current concepts of Black Awareness.

When the young Black officer saw or experienced discriminatory practices and made an effort to correct the situation, he was sometimes labeled as a troublemaker or a militant officer, which are career-terminating labels. He found there was seldom a place for him in the "normal" military society. He either had to accept the structured military social order, or he had to find ways to relax in the local ville among enlisted men whom he had to supervise or command. Officers stationed in the Yongsan area related cases of overt discrimination in the clubs and messes and found little comfort in the facilities designed for officers. These complaints have been formally presented to the appropriate commanders by the young Black officers. An extract from a formal complaint letter is presented below.

Equal Opportunity and Treatment Program EA. While there has been a much publicized effort within the command to practice EOT, indications are that the plight of the black officer has been largely neglected or totally disregarded. The general impression of the EOT program as perceived by us is that we have been allowed to filter into the commissioned ranks merely as a consideration. We are expected to express our gratitude by ignoring the whispered barbs, the hostile glares, and other subtle manifestations of institutional racism that exist in the immediate environment. The present EOT apparatus is cumbersome and considered irresponsible (sic) to the young officer's needs.

Additionally, the EOT channels cannot accurately express the vivid disappointment, humiliation, disgust and pain some of the occurrences listed have caused among our ranks Many black officers date eligible white women because of general lack of females of any other races, exclusive of KN's (Koreans). In this enlightened age, one would think that this would be a matter of individual preference. On occasions too numerous to mention mixed couples have been subject to degradation in the EUSA Officer's club. Among the incidents witnessed are: (1) Abusive language racially oriented and deliberately used in the presence of mixed couples A generally hostile attitude is assumed by white officers when a group (more than three) of black officers congregate The discriminatory policies of KN (Korean) pay for play girls (prostitutes) who consistently manage to gain entrance to club facilities.

The letter was signed by six commissioned officers (one field grade and five company grade officers). After presenting several pages of complaints, a summary was included:

Summary. What you have read is not the sum total of all the incidents that have occurred We do not want to retaliate or alienate any group, rather, we seek genuine harmony with our surroundings Indeed, the command is not aware of some of the practices that seem expressly directed against this group. Whatever the sacrifices necessary to achieve equal treatment, we are quite prepared for vigorous pursuit. We are determined that the ills of society will not proliferate unchecked in this military community.

As a result of the complaints, a monthly event was initiated at the Eighth Army Officers Club called "Soul Night." This event was characterized by serving so-called Soul food and having a band that played Soul music. Soul Night at the Eighth Army Club on August 30, 1973, and subsequent nights, was integrated racially and not only Blacks were enjoying themselves. It seemed like a very positive situation even though the area where the event took place was crowded. Unfortunately, consideration was later given to discontinuing Soul Night on the basis that it was not economically feasible.

Possibly other activities of this nature might provide more healthy alternatives to Black officers than the 1973 situation where they had to visit enlisted clubs, entertain in bachelor quarters, or seek out the Black-oriented activities in the local village. After all, as one Black officer stated, "The Black officers pay club dues just as do all other officers."

PROSTITUTION

Prostitution flourished in the communities surrounding and adjacent to military installations. It was tacitly condoned even though it was recognized as a problem to the military. Both the Korean government and the military commands had laws and programs to discourage prostitution, but they have had little impact on controlling the numbers of independent prostitutes and brothels.

Older prostitutes and other Koreans seemed to feel that prostitution was not always a lucrative business in Korea; that prostitution as it is today was created by American servicemen shortly after the Korean War. Before the War prostitution was confined to brothels, posing no social problem. The American serviceman reportedly lured girls out of the brothel and into the streets, making prostitution a public practice. The American serviceman was able to pay higher prices; therefore, prostitution became popular for women who wanted to make fast money. Once prostitution became profitable, organized crime was not long in cashing in on the business.

The American soldier was also credited with separating the girls into two categories: those who catered to Whites and those who catered to Blacks. The initial separation was believed to be motivated by racial prejudice, but most prostitutes said that it was a matter of economics and hesitated to admit any prejudice on their part. Once a prostitute identified with a race or ethnic group, she exerted maximum effort to acquire and practice the mores of that group.

THE CRUCIAL GAP IN RACE RELATIONS TRAINING

Monitorship of race relations training seminars and discussion leader classes clearly indicated that human relations training was geared toward the lower-grade enlisted man. As an example, during the month of April 1973, three seminars were conducted. Each seminar was programmed for a vertical distribution of grades, and 15 or more personnel were scheduled to attend each seminar. Officer attendance in the seminars ranged from two company-grade officers in one seminar to no officers in another seminar, despite the fact that more were scheduled to attend. Between 22 February and 4 May 1973, eight seminars were conducted in Headquarters and Headquarters Company Eighth Army, and records reflect that there were three officers of 111 military personnel who completed the seminars.

The implementation of training was being accomplished to some degree among lower enlisted grades, but the spirit and intent of current regulations directs that all military personnel receive 18 hours of race relations training. It appears that high-level commanders are interested in race relations and provide guidance to their staffs for implementation of programs, but there appears to be a void in awareness and willingness to become involved below the general officer level. With some

exceptions, this is true also with respect to higher level NCOs. The support for EOT/RR shown by E-8s and E-9s is not always reflected in NCOs below that grade. Race Relations and Equal Opportunity may be a priority at the top, but in many staffs and lower units it is treated as only an unpleasant job.

Attention to race relations seemed to have priority only in its overt manifestations, (e.g., riots). The subtleties and misconceptions addressed in race relations training did not appear to be considered important to the resolution of problems. An effectively trained riot squad can produce tangible results for a commander by breaking up or suppressing a riot, whereas race relations training does not seem to produce tangible or immediate results that are evident to the participants or the responsible commander. It appears that the military structure, as a whole, experiences difficulty in accepting and effectively assimilating intangible goals, ideals, accomplishments, or successes, such as a race relations program. Although the commander at a high level may well see the benefits and long-range promise in race relations, the commanders of his subordinate units, due to many other pressing demands, set that same goal at a greatly diminished priority.

In his final report submitted in July 1973, after two years as Equal Opportunity and Treatment NCO for Yongsan Garrison in Korea, SFC Tucker² pointed out:

Poor leadership practices in the military service delay the Army's progress in attaining and maintaining meaningful and fluid Human Relations/EOT programs. This appears to be the result of many military leaders' failure to become personally involved with the program and the fact that leaders appear to have forgotten some of their responsibilities to their subordinates.

Tucker emphasized the problem of leadership, and ultimately the chain of command, as the primary factor in the success or failure of the Army's race relations program. He emphasized the need for personal commitment:³

²Tucker, John E., Sergeant First Class, US Army, Final Report of Human Relations and Equal Opportunity Activities at US Army Garrison, Yongsan, During the Period April 1971 to April 1973, (HQ US Army Garrison, Yongsan, APO San Francisco 96301, July 1973.)

³Tucker, J. E. IBID

Despite the persuasive efforts of higher headquarters to encourage the Army's middle managers (E6 through O6) to become involved with Human Relations, many middle managers continue to discredit the Army's Human Relations/EOT programs as justification for their lack of involvement. Yet, efficiency reports continue to reflect that "they support EOT." Because of the lack of involvement of the middle management, many minority soldiers are becoming convinced that communication, as a course to resolve racial problems in the Army, will always be hampered by the Army's middle management.

Tucker made a broad assessment of the problem and attempted to delineate it in precise terms. His observation was not an isolated one. A similar view was expressed from data gathered in the US Marine Corps Human Relations program⁴ and is presented in briefings and orientations illustrated in Figure 1.

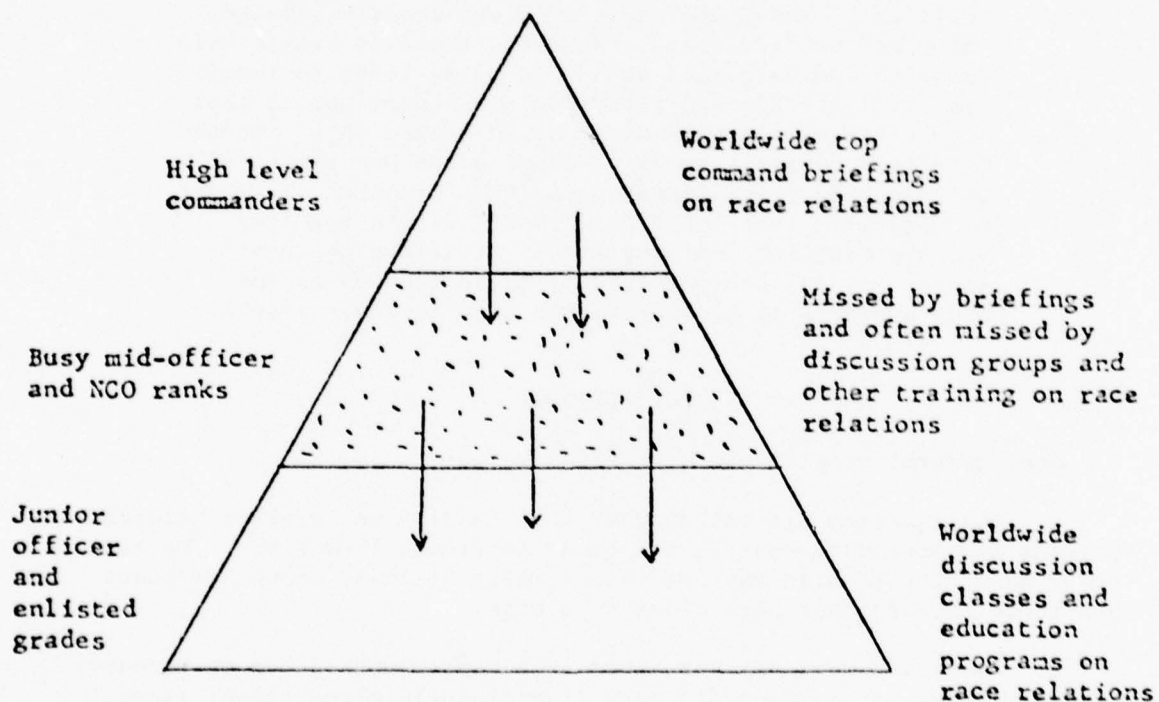


Figure 1. "The Crucial Gap"

⁴Compiled by USMC Human Relations Team, Draft Research and Discussion Problems in the USMC Human Relations Program - A Set of Special Problems Designed for Leadership Training (Three Parts), (Washington, D.C., July 1973), p. 3.

A total commitment to the program appears necessary if the problem is to be solved. Education and enlightenment must be instituted from the top to the bottom. No gap in awareness of the problem or its solution can be afforded at this time.

Part of the gap may have been caused by those involved in the decision-making process who perceive that the problem has been identified and work is being done to resolve it. However, too many involved in the problem-solving process are dealing with the tips of the "iceberg" that are evident to all and are not aware of the more substantive problems which lie below the surface and must be eliminated first.

No one would argue that a full range of attitudes about race relations exists in the military. It would be expected that those who are ideologically opposed to the goals of race relations and equal opportunity as set forth by the Army would be eliminated from the service. However, this has not been the case. As Tucker pointed out:⁵

There is a tendency in the Army to locate and eliminate black soldiers who are labeled "trouble-makers" and "militants" and young white soldiers who are labeled "hippies" or "radicals". However, there is little evidence to indicate that action is being taken to locate and eliminate bigoted individuals who continue to practice discrimination in overt or concealed ways. These practices continue to exist despite the Department of Defense's Race Relations educational program. It might be suggested that those "militants" within the Army, who are blocking the Army's goal of attaining human rights for all personnel, seem to be located in the Army's middle management rather than at other levels.

CONCLUSIONS

1. Some general conclusions are listed below:

a. The research did not suggest that tension was greater between Koreans and Americans than it was among Americans themselves. On the other hand, the tension was not less either, at least among Americans and those Koreans that were close to a base.

b. Americans were not perceived as a homogeneous group by Koreans. Cross-cultural interaction did vary significantly along racial lines.

c. The race relations problems existing between majority and minority Americans hindered positive interactions between Americans and Koreans.

⁵ Tucker, op cit, P. 146.

d. The nature of the controlled military environment on base caused manifestations of minority discontent to be less overt on base than in the civilian controlled off-base environment.

e. Complaints of Black officers about prejudice and discrimination by fellow White officers indicated that racism was not limited to enlisted grades.

f. Because of the rapid turnover of American personnel and the turbulence caused by it in Korea, there was a greater likelihood that inequities would occur in assignments and other personnel actions. Therefore, the Eighth Army was particularly susceptible to complaints from minority group personnel who might perceive this as discrimination based on race.

g. Koreans acknowledged the prejudiced nature of the treatment of Blacks by themselves and Whites. Koreans attributed discriminatory treatment of Blacks by Whites to racism, yet they justified their own discriminatory treatment of Blacks in several ways. They justified discrimination by attributing various kinds of negative behavior to Blacks and by expecting Blacks to be negative or hostile while interacting with Koreans. Some Koreans felt that it was financially necessary to cater to the prejudices of the White majority.

h. The image of minority Americans in Korea may have suffered greatly due to stereotypes, myths, and misconceptions held by Koreans about the status of minorities in America as depicted in the public media.

i. Blacks perceived themselves as bearing a double burden of discrimination from Whites and from Koreans, both on and off post.

2. Korean communities adjacent to military bases (camp villes) were important factors in the overseas life of the American soldier.

a. Korean communities adjacent to military bases had become "Americanized" to the extent that many military personnel sought to confine their off-duty activities and social life to that area as opposed to interaction with Koreans in the larger, more "Korean" communities.

b. The military base and surrounding communities are interdependent. The research suggests that this interdependence was critical to the success or failure of cross-cultural and race relations efforts.

c. Koreans and Americans perceived each other in light of their interaction in the "camp villes." For example, on-base Korean workers seldom lived there but had to pass through the camp villes to and from work. They observed Americans living and socializing in Korea in a manner alien to Koreans living outside the area. By the same token, Americans who limited themselves to the camp ville interacted only with Koreans who catered to American desires in the way of entertainment. Neither party took the initiative in any large measure to view the other in what might be more normal situations.

3. Although Americans quite often treated other Americans as equals, they seldom treated Koreans as equals.

a. Both Koreans and Americans acknowledged that Americans had an attitude of superiority toward Koreans in relationships on and off base.

b. KATUSAs represented the largest minority group in the Eighth Army. If their numbers are combined with Korean civilians employed by the American military, Koreans may equal, and in rare cases exceed, the number of Americans on a military base. It is significant to note, however, that personnel concerned with equality of treatment focused their attention on discrimination against non-White Americans--whether by Koreans or fellow Americans. This appears to be a basic error in a program which purports to be geared toward improving human relations in an overseas setting.

c. Koreans were recipients of displaced hostility, primarily as a result of the negative experiences of Americans in the camp villes and, secondarily, as an extension of the race relations problems which were being inadequately dealt with by Americans.

4. Education of military personnel of all ranks in race relations and cross-cultural problems is essential to military mission accomplishment.

a. Monitorship of race relations training seminars and discussion leader classes clearly indicated that human relations training was geared toward the lower grade enlisted man. Although high level commanders usually supported race relations efforts, officers and enlisted men at the middle management level often failed to support these programs, creating a crucial gap in the chain of command as far as implementing race relations and equal opportunity programs was concerned.

b. The rapid turnover of American personnel reduced the likelihood that primary group relationships would develop into a sense of collective responsibility. Therefore, one might expect to find significant differences in social indicators between countries where American troops were assigned for an extended period and in Korea where the tour of duty was relatively short.

c. The 1973 approaches to resolution of the race relations problem in Korea appeared to lie in after-the-fact actions. Commanders and staff officers depended on the implementation of affirmative action plans and training for the troops as their preventive actions. These have had little or no impact on the problem. What was lacking is a total commitment of resources and the education of all military personnel, including commanders and staff officers, in race relations and cross-cultural relations. (The record of training attendance of officers above the grade of Captain was very poor.) Unfortunately, in too many cases, time in service and the experience of senior officers and NCOs handling human relations problems are used as a substitute for education about current problems in human relations.

The information developed in this research project can be used to further develop and refine educational materials used in current human relations education programs. Command emphasis should require that all military and Department of Defense civilians in Korea fully participate in the current human relations education and action programs. Educational programs designed to deal with prostitution and its related problem of venereal disease should be revised, updated, and intensified to curb the adverse effects of the problem on other human relations efforts. A human relations program should be developed for on-base Koreans who interact with Americans on a daily basis. The program developed should be mutually supporting to programs designed for Americans. More up-to-date information should be provided to the Korean population as a whole about America and the current status and roles of minorities in America, through public media if necessary, to assist in dispelling myths, misconceptions, and stereotypes. Finally, equal opportunity and treatment programs must become oriented toward meeting the needs of KATUSAs and Korean Nationals working on base.

APPENDIX A

AMERICAN INTERVIEW FORM

1. Male_____ Female_____
2. Military_____ Civilian_____
3. Married_____ Unmarried_____
4. Years of education completed:
6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15 16 17 or more.
(GED high school diploma, circle 12)
5. If educated past high school, what kind of school did you attend?
(College, university, junior college, trade school, tech. school, etc.)
6. What place do you now think of as home?
(What state in the U.S.)
7. Your military rank.
8. Your military status.
9. Your present job.
10. Time in service. (Years)_____ (Months)_____
11. How long in this country?
(Years)_____ (Months)_____ (include previous tours)
12. a. Is your spouse with you this tour? Yes_____ No_____
b. Is your spouse command sponsored? Yes_____ No_____

13. Do you live: On base? _____ Off base? _____
14. Country of citizenship _____
15. In what other foreign countries have you lived or served for six months or longer?
Country _____ Years _____
16. a. Do you consider yourself a member of any racial or national-origin group within our population? (If you have any doubts or if you consider yourself just a "plain American" then your answer is "No".)
Yes _____ No _____
- b. If yes, what group? _____
- c. Did you live in a section of town where there was a large number of people with similar group identifications?
Yes _____ No _____
17. Do you belong to any religious group?
Yes _____ No _____
If yes, which? _____
18. To what groups does your spouse belong?
a. National origin/Racial?
b. Religious?
19. How long ago did you arrive in Korea this tour?
Months _____
20. How well do you speak the local language? (Well, little, not at all)
21. Do you have frequent contact with the Korean people (two to three times a week)?
a. Yes _____ No _____
b. How often?

- c. With whom?
 - d. Where?
22. In general, do you like Koreans?
23. Have you visited a Korean home?
24. Do you consider Korean homes cleaner, equal to, or dirtier than most American homes?
25. Do you ever buy food from local stores? Why or Why Not?
26. Do you react (or act) differently to Korean women than to Korean men? Explain.
27. Do you feel comfortable about eating in Korean restaurants? Why or Why Not?
28. Do you think Koreans get better service or preferential treatment (prices, etc.) than you?
29. Which of the following statements best describes your feelings towards Koreans?
- a. ☐ I like Koreans very much.
 - b. ☐ I tend to like Koreans.
 - c. ☐ I really don't care one way or the other about most Koreans.
 - d. ☐ I tend to dislike most Koreans.
 - e. ☐ I dislike Koreans very much.
30. Why do you think you feel the way you do about Koreans?
31. Do you think other Americans generally like Koreans? Why?
32. What do you think the local nationals should do or stop doing to promote better American-Korean relations?
33. What should Americans do or stop doing to improve relations?

34. What do you think Koreans like or admire most about Americans, if anything?
35. What do you think Koreans dislike most about Americans, if anything?
36. What do you like or admire most about the Korean people, if anything?
37. What do you dislike most about the Korean people, if anything?
38. Aside from your feelings about the Korean people, what do you dislike the most about this country?
39. What are the most harmful things to American morale or happiness here in Korea?
40. Is there any group of Americans which you think particularly helps or hurts Korean-American relations? How?
41. Do you think Koreans feel or act differently toward black and white Americans? Please explain.
42. Do Koreans look down on Korean women who date Americans?
43. Does it make any difference if the American is black or white?
44. How do you feel about inter-racial dating in general?
(Not just Korean/American.)
45. Do you feel that there is any difference in the treatment given blacks or whites downtown?
46. Do you feel that there is any difference in the treatment given to blacks and whites by Korean Nationals working on post?
47. Are you familiar with the provisions of the Status of Forces Agreement (SOFA) with Korea?
48. What does SOFA mean to you personally?

49. Generally speaking, do you think the race relations or sexual policies in Korea are different than in other places? If so, how? (If not, why?)
50. a. What do you think of the recreation/leisure time facilities in Korea?
On Base? Off Base?
- b. What facilities have you made use of since you arrived here?
51. What would be the most important improvement to make your life better...
- a. In Korea?
- b. In the Army?
52. (Ask blacks) Generally speaking, do you like the whites?
Yes_____ No_____ Other_____
53. (Ask whites) Generally speaking, do you like the blacks?
Yes_____ No_____ Other_____
54. a. (Ask blacks) Do you think other blacks - your friends,
for example - generally like whites?
Yes_____ NO_____ Other_____
- b. (Ask whites) Do you think other whites - your friends,
for example - generally like blacks?
Yes_____ No_____ Other_____
55. What do you think blacks should do or stop doing to improve black-white relations?
56. What do you think whites should do or stop doing to improve black-white relations?
57. (Ask blacks) What do you like or admire most about the whites?
(Ask whites) What do you like or admire most about the blacks?
58. (Ask blacks) What do you dislike most about the whites?

(Ask whites) What do you dislike most about the blacks?

59. Generally speaking, do you think the race relation problem in Korea is different than it is in other places? If so, how? (If not, why?)
60. Would you object to your dependents undergoing a similar interview?

APPENDIX B

KOREAN INTERVIEW FORM

Interviewer: _____ (01) ID Number _____ (02-04)

1. Sex: 1 ☐ Male 2 ☐ Female
2. Are you: 1 ☐ Single 2 ☐ Married 3 ☐ Widowed/Divorced

3. Your age in full: _____ Years

4. Years of education completed: _____ years
(IF MORE THAN 12 YEARS IN Q. 4, ASK A.)

A. What kind of school did you attend?

- 1 ☐ Univ. 4 ☐ Technical School
2 ☐ College 5 ☐ Other (SPECIFY)
3 ☐ Junior College

5. Are you:

- 1 ☐ Military (ASK A.) 2 ☐ Civilian (ASK B)

A. Your rank: _____

B. Your grade:

- 1 ☐ KGS 2 ☐ KWB _____

6. Your present job: _____

7. Time as KATUSA or civilian employee: _____ months

8. For how many years have you had direct interaction with Americans:

- | | |
|-------------------------|-------------------------|
| 1 ____ Less than 1 year | 4 ____ 5 to 6 years |
| 2 ____ 1 to 2 years | 5 ____ 7 to 9 years |
| 3 ____ 3 to 4 years | 6 ____ 10 years or more |

9. On the average, how often do you meet socially with Americans?

- | | |
|-------------------------------|---------------------------------------|
| 1 ____ 2 or more times a week | 4 ____ once a month |
| 2 ____ about once a week | 5 ____ less than once a month (ASK A) |
| 3 ____ 2 to 3 times a month | |

A. What prevents you from having more contact:

10. Which of the following statements best describes your feelings towards Americans:

- 1 ____ I like Americans very much
2 ____ I tend to like Americans
3 ____ I really don't care one way or the other about Americans
4 ____ I tend to dislike Americans
5 ____ I dislike Americans very much
-

11. In general, which of the following Americans do you prefer to meet socially?

- | | |
|-------------------------|--------------------------|
| 1 ____ White American | 4 ____ Puerto Rican |
| 2 ____ Black American | 5 ____ Indian American |
| 3 ____ Mexican American | 6 ____ Oriental American |
-

12. In your opinion, which of the following Americans do other Koreans prefer for social contact?

- | | |
|-------------------------|--------------------------|
| 1 ____ White American | 4 ____ Puerto Rican |
| 2 ____ Black American | 5 ____ Indian American |
| 3 ____ Mexican American | 6 ____ Oriental American |

13. How do you feel differently toward black and white Americans?

Why?

14. How do you think other Koreans feel or act differently toward black and white Americans?

Why?

15. How do you compare the treatment that minority groups of Americans get here with what they get in CONUS?

1 ___ Better here

2 ___ Same

3 ___ Worse here

A. Why do you think that way?

16. In your opinion, how do other Koreans compare the treatment that minority groups of Americans get here with what they get in CONUS?

1 ___ Better here

2 ___ Same

3 ___ Worse here

A. Why do you think other Koreans compare that way?

17. Where do you generally have social contact with Americans?

1 ___ On base

3 ___ Downtown Seoul

2 ___ Ville near base

4 ___ Other (SPECIFY): _____

18. What do you like or admire most about Americans?

19. What do you dislike most about Americans?

20. What do you think Americans like or admire most about Koreans?

21. What do you think Americans dislike most about Koreans?

22. Which of the following Americans helps most the American-Korean relations?

1 ___ White 2 ___ Black 3 ___ Other (SPECIFY): _____

23. What is your attitude toward Korean women who date GI's?

1 ___ Approve 2 ___ Indifferent 3 ___ Dislike

24. From your point of view, why do the racial problems exist between black and white Americans here?

25. In your opinion, how do GI's feel about their assignment here in Korea comparing with other overseas assignments?

1 ___ Good 2 ___ No difference 3 ___ Bad

26. What do you like or admire most about the whites?

27. What do you dislike most about the whites?

28. What do you like or admire most about the blacks?

29. What do you dislike most about the blacks?

30. Please think of a recent situation where you became angry at a white American and tell me exactly what the situation was at that time?

A. Why were you angry at that white American?

B. Why do you think the white American behaved the way he did?

31. Please think of a recent situation where you became angry at a black American and tell me exactly what the situation was at that time?

A. Why were you angry at that black American?

B. Why do you think the black American behaved the way he did?

32. What do you think Americans should do or stop doing in order to promote better American-Korean relations?

APPENDIX C

LESSON OUTLINE FOR INTERVIEW TECHNIQUES

- I. Introduction
 - A. Purpose of Interview
 - B. Value of Interviews
 - C. Confidentiality of Interviews (Anonymity)
- II. Body of Lesson
 - A. One-to-one Interview Hints (Narrative attached)
 - 1. Always put the interviewee at ease
 - 2. Be objective
 - 3. The probing
 - 4. Maintain trust
 - 5. Maintain feeling of importance
 - 6. Eye contact
 - 7. Additional remarks
 - B. Sampling procedures
 - C. Use of Written Interview Guides
- III. Demonstration, if appropriate
- IV. Practical Exercise, if appropriate
- V. Summary of Lesson

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APPENDIX D

TRANSLATION: Chosun Ilbo dtd 10 Nov 73, Page 3.

BLACK AND WHITE PROBLEM

(The 7th letter from the Special Report Team of this newspaper making a cross-country trip in the United States of America after the frontier sites of 200 years ago.)

Last week, a 35 year-old black man called M. Jackson was elected as the mayor of the city of Atlanta, Georgia, USA. Although formerly blacks were elected as mayors in cities of the East and West such as Washington, D. C. and Los Angeles, this was the first time for a major southern city. Atlanta, a typical city of the South is familiar to us all the more by the "Gone With the Wind". The appearance of a black mayor in the hometown of the late Martin Luther King, when we recall the historical mistreatment of and prejudice against the blacks in this area, certainly adds up to the opening of a new chapter on the race problem between the black and white. Of course, we should refrain from making a hasty conclusion that this election of a black mayor means that the chronic race problem in the States has been settled.

Recently, two schools in Boston which was known as a free city in political and racial aspects came to be closed because of successive accidents of murder and plundering prompted by the repeated scufflings between the blacks and whites. The police set a prize of five thousand dollars on the black young men who had burnt a 24 year-old white lady to death pouring oil on her. In the meantime, the blacks began to criticize the police on the ground that their investigation attitude was not fair, asserting that two black kids had been burnt by some white young men, causing the death of one of the kids last spring. As the violence continued intensifying the conflict of feelings between the black and white, the city authorities came to temporarily close the two schools the most serious in the black and white confrontation with a view to restoring peace. The race problem is one of the greatest burdens the U.S. is shouldering. As long as one is not colorblind, it is not easy for one to fail to perceive the clear visual difference between the black and white. Moreover, with the historical and cultural differences

taken into account altogether, it seems that the black and white are co-existing, virtually forming two different worlds.

When we visited Harlem district of New York, the collective living area of the blacks, we dropped in a black organization called F.B. (Fight Back.) We spotted a small poster in the FB office. There was shown an undernourished black kid, on the poster, who was looking out of a dilapidated, dirty room. The caption on the poster read, "Well, you gentlemen are going to the moon, aren't you?" and "You are accomplishing great things." This organization is said to be working for the protection of the rights and interests of the black construction laborers. As to what they have achieved through their struggle, they said they brought a charge against the mayor and provincial governor on the ground that the city authorities have failed to employ black laborers pursuant to the legal ratio stipulated.

In the Harlem district occupying a vast area in the northern part of New York, it is difficult to find white people even in the middle of the day. The street is crowded with dealers of cheap clothes and wig peddlers. Idle old men and women are seen sitting on the dilapidated stairs around the back alleys. The roadside is littered here and there with waste papers and rubbish where some young men are seen even gambling. Weeds are growing thick here and there. Mr. Holton (phonetic), a leader of the F.B., criticized the city authorities saying "They are not using money for the housing, roads, and cleaning of this area." They complained but failed to exhibit the self-helping attitude. Many people were found standing on the street doing nothing, but no one tried to remove the rubbish from the street. Some kids playing on the street even threatened some non-blacks in a Taekwondo stance. Harlem, a hotbed of various crimes, is a place where murder accidents occur in succession and non-blacks are extorted their personal things even in the middle of the day. Touching on the criminal problem, Mr. Holton termed it a "Vicious Circle" saying "Isn't it natural for them to commit crimes because the whites fail to provide the blacks with employment opportunities?".

Nonetheless, the fact is that the position of the black has been greatly improved since twenty Portugese captives were sold over to America as slaves in 1619. Although it is an unavoidable reality that they have failed to reach the same political, economic, and social standards as the whites, they are having more and more black government officials in the Federal and state governments, the ratio of the blacks belonging to the middle class is rising, and their educational standards are improving gradually. Now, they began to enjoy the privilege of voting throughout the whole of the States and most colleges admit a certain ratio of black students giving them the privilege of scholarship to the extent that many white students feel rather threatened in securing the privilege of scholarship or employment after their graduation. Now, the blacks are enjoying an almost perfect equality at least in legal aspect since the famous Civil Rights March by Martin Luther King conducted in 1963. The elementary school kids were also mixed evenly by having the kids come to school by bus. The whites' opposition to this came out in the form of what is called the Busing issue.

Generally, the whites live in the suburban area away from the center of the city. Taking Washington, D. C. for example, the blacks constitute 70% of the whole citizens. The reason is that whites come to their work only during daytime living in the suburban area like Maryland or Virginia. It'll be understandable, therefore, there was even such a joke as "No whites remain in Washington, D. C. after 1800 hours except the master of the White House." As whites are gradually pushed out to the suburban area, the schools in the city came to be attended by the blacks while those at the suburbs by the whites exclusively.

Even among the blacks themselves, their organizations are divided into many. Some of them are radical like the Three X and Black Panther (phonetic) while some others are moderate non-violence organizations like the NAACP or SCLC. Recently, Minister Jesse Jackson is trying to attain the blacks' economic self-reliance and status improvement through an organization called PUSH. Thus, since the death of Martin Luther King and Malcome X, the leadership in the black community came to be divided among many rival chiefs. When we met Madam Coreta, the widow of Minister

King, she also said, "All the people who had followed King, my husband, have scattered with their own views." Although five years have passed since the tragedy of Minister King, all they have done for the construction of a memorial center - the long-cherished wish of King's widow - was to prepare a blueprint and not to mention the ground-making. The grave of Martin Luther King is lonely surrounded by a wooden fence at the side of a Baptist Church in Atlanta where his father is working as the minister in charge. Madam Coreta, presently the chief of the Social Reform Center, is rushing east and west in an effort to secure a national black candidacy with a belief that "The most effective way to enhance the blacks' status is to go through the political means."

Now, the blacks are trying to recover their own identity. They wish to wipe out their inferiority complex toward the whites by writing a slogan everywhere reading "Black is Beautiful." What is called the Afro-hairstyle peculiar to the blacks has been popular among them since last year to keep their individuality alive. In the meantime, a movie starred by a black is being shown in slum theaters winning the applause from the blacks. The story of the film is about a strong negro who defeats weak cowardly whites to become a hero. Of course, the film has many violence scenes. There are many blacks who have attained economic success. Particularly, their advance in the world of sports and entertainment has been remarkable. In view of these trends, more and more advertisements came to be directed to the blacks. This is the living evidence that the economic standing of the blacks has been improved so much that it can no longer be ignored. These days, I hear, rich white men are changing their cars (from Cadillac, to some other type: translator) just because many blacks came to ride the Cadillac, a symbol of the high class. Of course, we cannot say that blacks are enjoying as equal privileges and status as the whites are in American communities. However, what we can hardly miss is the presence of the conscience on the part of the general citizens and the devotion of so many leaders for the dignity and equality

of human being. Minister Jesse Jackson cried, "We are not the bottom but the foundation. At the same time, we are the touchstone of the American conscience."

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